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# an arctic settlement

Pangnirtung

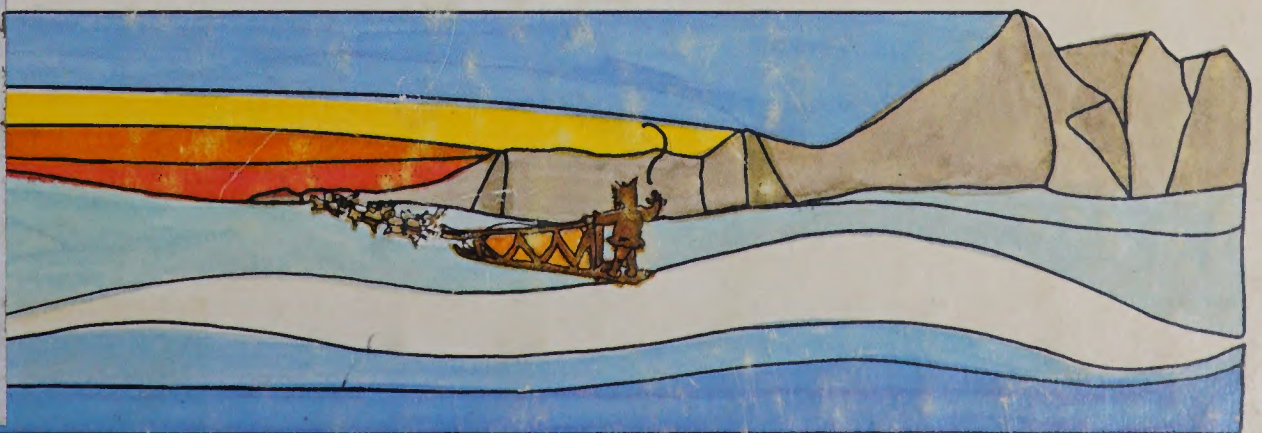


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# an arctic settlement

## Pangnirtung

by K. F. Dudley

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*This photograph of Pangnirtung shows the residential section where the Eskimos live. The business section, which is to the left of this area, is shown in the photograph on the cover.*

## DO

1. Look at the photographs of Pangnirtung on this page and on the cover. At what time of the year were these photos taken? How do you know?
2. How do the houses differ from those where you live?
3. What services would be needed in a community such as Pangnirtung? What might some of the larger buildings be used for?

4. The red-roofed buildings in the picture on the cover are those of the Hudson's Bay Company. How do you think supplies are brought into the Hudson's Bay Company?
5. Look at a map of Canada. How far is Pangnirtung from where you live? How would you travel to Pangnirtung? What transportation would you use? How long would it take you?



## In the Past

In the past most Canadian Eskimos lived in small camps scattered throughout the Northwest Territories. They were nomadic hunters, constantly moving to find the food that would enable them to survive the hostile environment.

The lives of the Eskimos were ruled by the seasons. From spring to fall they hunted caribou, waited for long hours to harpoon seal and fished for char with long three-pointed fishing *kakivak*, or spears. In the darkest months when it was impossible to hunt they survived on the meat and fish they had stored in the fall.

In addition to food, the Eskimos needed clothing, shelter, and weapons. The skins of caribou and seals were used for clothing; boots were made from seal skins. Spears and harpoons were carved from antlers or hard bone. Homes were quickly erected shelters — snow houses in winter and tents made of caribou or seal skins in the summer. The *koodlick*, the seal oil lamp, was the most important possession. With it the family had lighting and heating.

To move in search of food, the Eskimos needed transportation. In summer, the hunters used *kayaks*, one-man skin-covered canoes, or traveled together in an *umiak*, a larger open boat that could carry up to thirty persons. In winter, they traveled on sleds pulled by teams of dogs.

With the coming of the white man to the north, the life of the Eskimo changed. The first white men to be seen by Eskimos were explorers and traders. The explorers stayed for a short time and then moved away, but the professional traders set up permanent posts.

The traders wanted the skins of fur-bearing animals, particularly the valuable fox fur. In



*Pangnirtung lies just below the Arctic Circle. Trace this imaginary line on a globe. What other countries are represented within the Arctic Circle?*

return for the furs, the traders gave the Eskimos manufactured clothing, cooking pots, tools, and guns. As the Eskimos spent more time trapping for furs and less time hunting and fishing, they became more and more dependent upon the trader's goods. In the 1930's the demand for fox fur decreased, but by that time many Eskimos no longer had the knowledge or the desire to return to living off the land.

## DO

1. Why did the Eskimo have to travel in order to obtain food?
2. The Eskimo of the past was self-sufficient. What does this mean?
3. Prepare a written report on one of the following Arctic explorers: John Franklin, Martin Frobisher, Samuel Hearne, Henry Hudson, Alexander Mackenzie, Robert Peary.
4. Draw a timeline showing major explorations in the Arctic.
5. How would the possession of guns affect the Eskimo way of life?



# Pangnirtung Today

During the Second World War, white men moved into the Arctic to build and man air bases, defense structures, and weather stations. When the war ended, the government of Canada started to make plans for the development of the north.

During the 1950's the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development provided housing, schools, and hospitals. As these services became available in settlements such as Pangnirtung, increasing numbers of Eskimos moved to them from their outlying camps.

The population of Pangnirtung grew from forty persons in 1951 to ninety-four persons in 1956. Today Pangnirtung has a population of six hundred Eskimos. A few white men are employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and the Department of Indian Affairs.

The layout of Pangnirtung is typical of Arctic settlements. Its buildings have been erected far back from the shore to allow free movement to and from the waterfront. This is

an important consideration in planning an Arctic townsite to ensure privacy from the heavy cargo and pedestrian traffic arriving and leaving by water.

The Hudson's Bay Company is the only store in Pangnirtung. All persons arriving and leaving must pass the store, making it a good location for business. The white painted rocks bordering the walks around the Hudson's Bay Company buildings are characteristic of Arctic settlements.

On the edge of town there is a small group of white and blue buildings. This is the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Headquarters for the settlement. A rail running between these buildings and the waterfront supports the R.C.M.P water craft used for patrolling the area of Cumberland Sound.

## DO

1. Obtain information on world air routes. Why do many routes pass over the Arctic?
2. Why was the north of particular interest during the Second World War?

*Young girls in Pangnirtung. What are the advantages in carrying a baby this way?*



*Boys play outside the school in Pangnirtung.*







*A family outside its prefabricated home. Which machine will the father use to travel in the winter? In what way is this machine similar to the traditional sled?*

## *Housing*

During the 1960's the federal government undertook a crash housing program for the Northwest Territories, with accommodation for all the Eskimos as its 1971 target.

Prefabricated houses up to 700 square feet were built in factories in the south and then shipped north on supply ships during the summer months. The houses — bungalows with two or three bedrooms — were put together on their sites.

The houses do not have basements, for Pangnirtung lies in the *permafrost zone*. In this area, the ground, except for the top few inches, is permanently frozen.

Each house is supplied with an oil space heater, a stove, a water storage tank, and with basic furniture and utensils — an arborite table and chairs, beds and mattresses, pots and pans, and cutlery.

The Eskimos pay rent for their houses. The amount may vary from two dollars a month up to sixty dollars, depending upon whether the occupant is an elderly pensioner, an unemployed head of a family, a successful hunter and trapper, or a wage earner employed by the government. The amount to be paid is decided by an administrator of the Department of Northern Affairs.

While the rent is flexible, the tenant has certain obligations. He is expected to paint his





*The interior of a snow house. In what ways was the invention of the snow house an excellent example of the Eskimo's adaptation to his environment? Under what emergency conditions would the snow house offer more protection than the prefabricated house?*

house and carry out minor repairs. He is also encouraged to build additional furniture and fixtures from packing cases.

The seal oil lamp previously supplied heat and light. Now the Eskimo family must have fuel oil and electricity.

There are no trees to be used as fuel. The seal oil that served to heat the snow house cannot heat a house efficiently. Heating oil must be brought to Pangnirtung by ships during the summer months and stored in bulk storage tanks. From these tanks it is delivered to the houses by trucks. A generating station provides electricity to each home.

The Eskimo no longer melts snow for water. Now water from an inland lake is brought into Pangnirtung by tank truck and then pumped into storage tanks in the kitchens. Garbage and sewage are collected by truck and deposited outside the settlement.

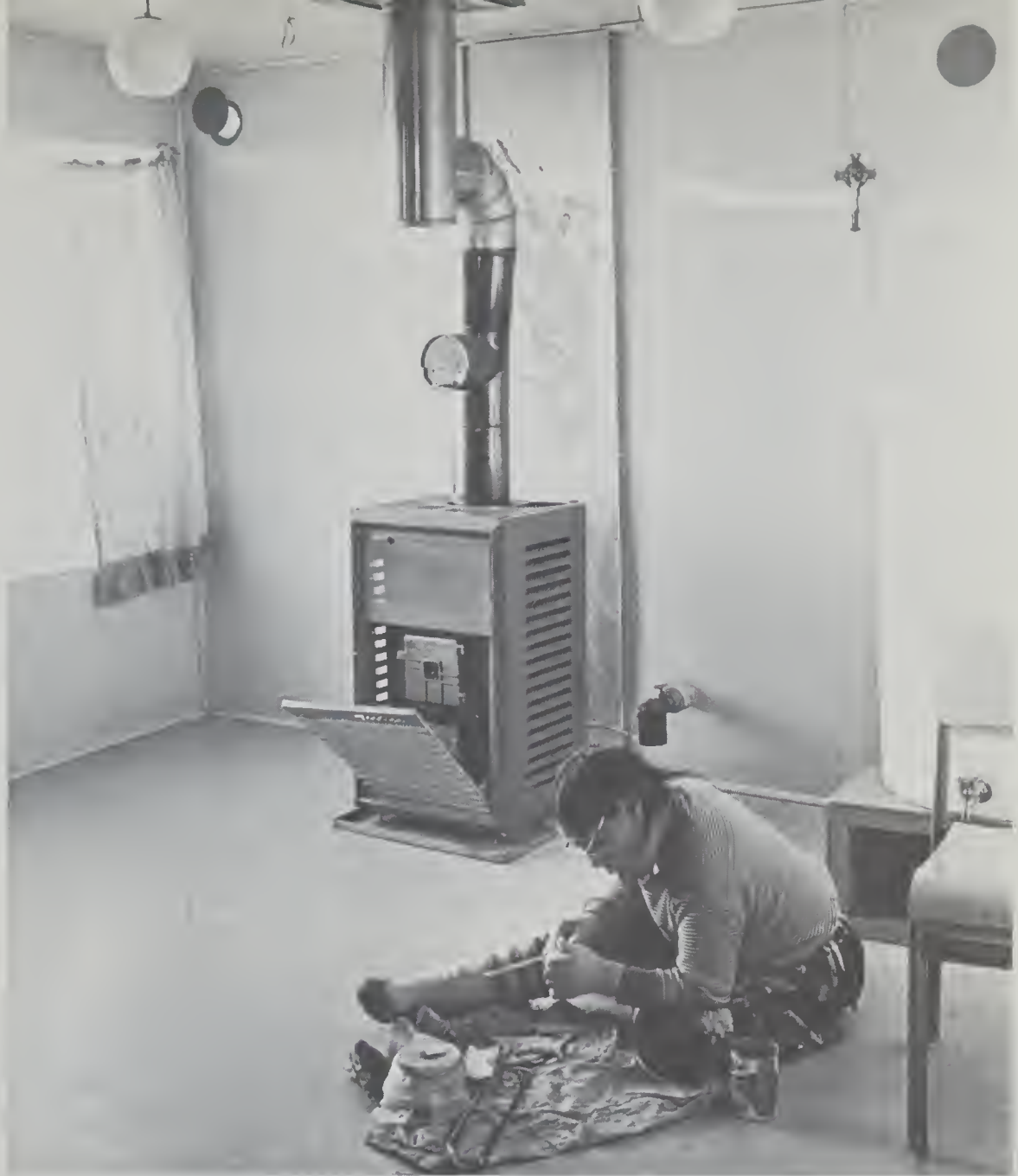
The cost of all these services is included in the monthly rental, but tenants are expected to

stay within certain quotas for consumption of fuel oil, electricity, and water.

The Eskimos who moved into Pangnirtung and into houses had many new things to learn. They had lived in temporary homes, moving from one place to another. Now they were part of a settled community with regular schooling for their children, health care, and government assistance. The design of the houses and their furniture reflected the white man's way of living. Families used to living in snow houses and tents were now told that they were to use separate rooms for sleeping, for eating, and for recreation. They had slept on skins and sat on the floor to eat their meals; now they were given beds for sleeping and tables and chairs for eating.

An education program was carried out to acquaint Eskimos with the principle of rental housing, to show them how to operate stoves and heating systems, and to teach them housekeeping skills.





*An Eskimo woman sits on the floor to work instead of using a chair. Despite the provision of furnaces, floors are often cold because of the lack of basements. Why is it not possible to run hot-air pipes beneath the floors?*

## DO

1. The top few inches of the ground thaw during the summer months. The water, which cannot sink through the permafrost, lies in pools on the surface. What might happen to houses built directly on the ground?
2. Because of low temperatures, the rate of decomposition in the Arctic is very slow. How does this affect garbage disposal?
3. How are heating, water, and sewer facilities provided in your community?

Why must alternative methods be used in the north?

4. Some Arctic towns have built *utilidors*. Find out how a utilidor provides water, heating, and sewer facilities.
5. List at least six housekeeping skills an Eskimo family moving into a house would have to learn.
6. Discuss how the move to a settled community might affect each member of an Eskimo family.





*The residents of Pangnirtung do all their shopping at the Hudson's Bay Company store. How many stores would you have to visit to purchase the various goods shown in the photographs on these two pages?*

*What problems would Eskimo women encounter in learning how to cook and use the manufactured foods shown in these photographs?*

## *The Hudson's Bay Company*

All the additional items the Eskimo needs for his home and his new way of life must be purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company store.

The Eskimos in Pangnirtung now buy most of their food. Flour, lard, tea, sugar, and a variety of canned goods are available from the store, but families who want fresh food must depend upon what they can hunt and fish.

The government administrator sees that the families have the necessities they need. If a family does not have money for groceries, it will receive vouchers to be exchanged in the store for food.







*Some buyers purchase goods on credit. What are the advantages of this arrangement? What are its disadvantages?*

*Which pieces of clothing shown here were probably purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company store?*

## DO

1. The Hudson's Bay Company store has a *monopoly*, that is, it is the only store in the settlement. What are the advantages and disadvantages of such an arrangement to the residents?
2. An independent trader operated a store for a short period but he now provides only recreational facilities. What difficulties would an independent trader encounter in running a store?
3. In your community what assistance is given to people who are unemployed and to families who do not have enough money for rent and food?





# *In and Out of Pangnirtung*



*The airplane has contributed to the health of the Eskimos. Pangnirtung has a nursing station, but seriously ill persons are flown to the hospital in Frobisher Bay or to hospitals in the south.*



*Residents wait for the arrival of a plane. The runway between the mountains and the settlement is covered with gravel. How does this prevent the permafrost from melting?*

*A group of Eskimos watches a party about to board a Canso airplane moored in the lake. These planes may be chartered to make flights between small settlements.*







*Goods being brought to shore by barge. What harbor facilities could make the job less time consuming?*

Water transportation is vital to the residents of Pangnirtung. Everything the Eskimo now needs in addition to what he hunts or fishes must be brought into the settlement by water. A few supplies come in by air freight, but cargo rates of about seventy cents a pound for express and about fifty cents a pound for freight make this method of obtaining goods too expensive for most of those in the community.

It is only during the months of late July, August, and September that boats can land at Pangnirtung. The arrivals and departures of big boats are limited to periods of high tide. Tides over twenty feet rise and fall leaving tidal flats several hundred feet wide, and access to the community is very difficult at low tide, even for the Eskimo canoes.

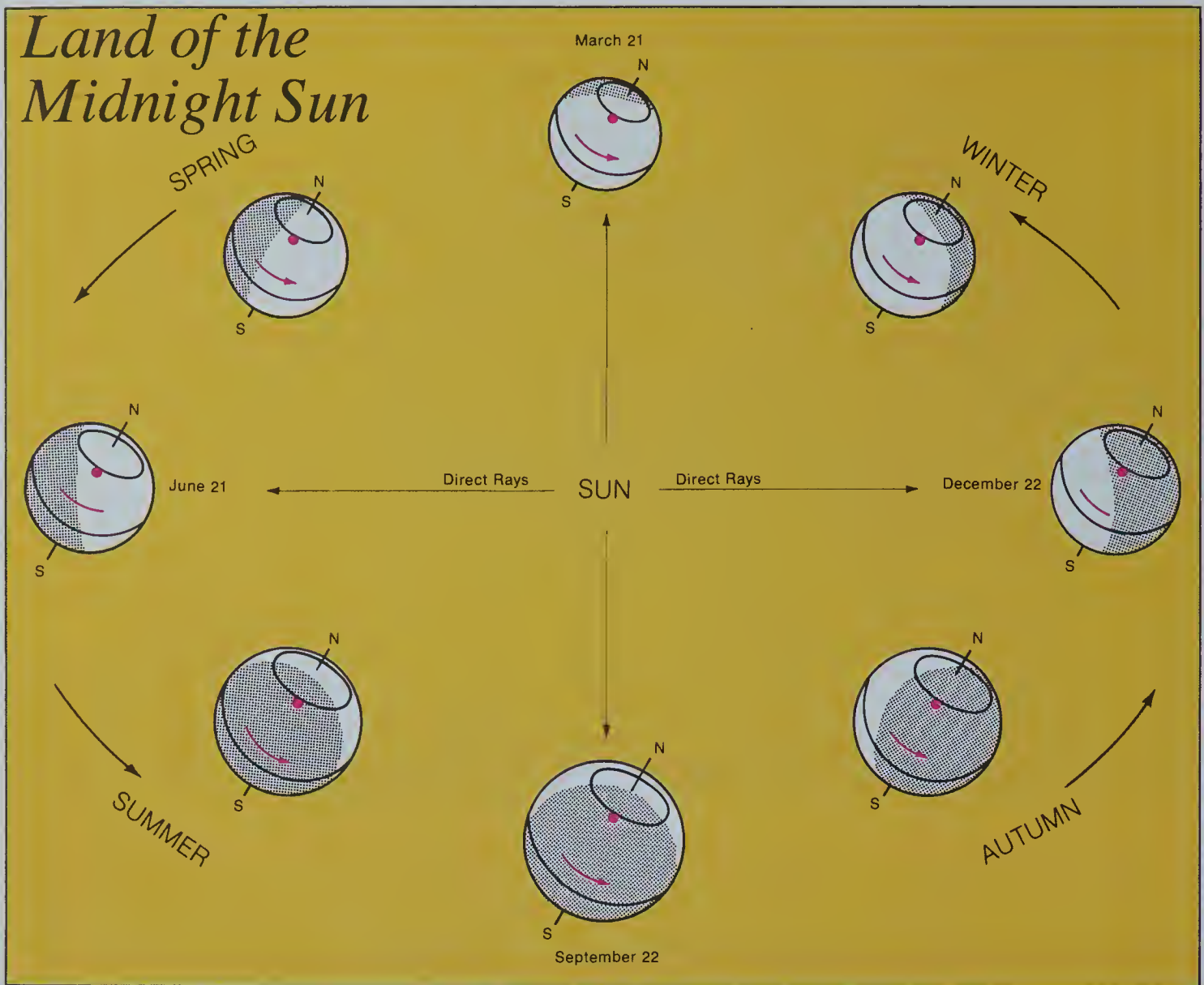
The arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company supply ship in late August or early September is an exciting event. Barges are used to carry the freight from the ship to the beach. Temporary helpers carry the goods up the rocks and to the warehouses behind the store. This annual delivery by water is known as the "sea lift."

Visitors to Pangnirtung often arrive by airplane. During the summer months of July and August, *Nordair* makes flights into Pangnirtung three times a week, landing on a short airstrip between the mountains and the town. During the winter months, there are two flights a week — if the weather is good.

During the bad weather in the winter the settlement is isolated except for radio communication.



# Land of the Midnight Sun



## DO

1. The earth revolves on its axis once every twenty-four hours. Place a light so that it shines on one side of a globe. Turn the globe. What happens? How does the earth's turning give the place where you live day and night?
2. When it is day in Australia, will it be day or night in South America? Why?
3. The earth turns once every twenty-four hours, but it also revolves around the sun once every year. On the diagram above, Pangnirtung is shown by a red dot just below the Arctic Circle. Look at the earth as shown on December 22. Pangnirtung will be in

- darkness for almost twenty-four hours. Why? When will Pangnirtung receive most daylight?
4. Why is the Arctic called "the land of the midnight sun"?
5. Place your globe and light to represent the earth and the sun. Why does the sun warm the North and South Poles less than the equator? Why are average temperatures where you live higher than those at Pangnirtung?
6. When do lands north of the equator experience their lowest temperatures? When do lands south of the equator experience their lowest temperatures?





*Arctic flowers grow in clumps and close to the ground in order to conserve heat.*

## Summer in Pangnirtung

It is in summer that most families still hunt and fish for their own use. Once school is dismissed and the ice breaks up many families leave Pangnirtung to set up camps in the surrounding areas.

As they travel from Pangnirtung they cross stretches of flower-covered hills. There are no trees in the Pangnirtung area, for forests need at least one month with an average temperature of 50 degrees. But during the summer weeks when the sun shines almost constantly and the thawing permafrost provides a water supply, small flowering plants bloom profusely.

### DO

These are the monthly details of climate at Pangnirtung:

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Temp.	-16.0	-16.0	-7.0	8.0	25.0	37.0	45.0	44.0	37.0	25.0	11.0	-8.0
Rain	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.7	1.3	2.1	1.0	0.4	0.0	0.0
Snow	9.9	12.4	9.4	15.1	4.3	1.9	0.0	0.0	2.0	14.2	19.3	12.2

1. Calculate the total precipitation for each month and for the year. (Ten inches of snowfall is equal to one inch of rainfall.)

2. Draw a graph to show monthly temperature and precipitation.

3. Obtain climate statistics for your own locality. What is the average yearly snowfall? What is the average mean temperature in July?

4. Compare your climate with that of Pangnirtung.





1



2



3



1. A family prepares to set up its summer camp in the hills surrounding Pangnirtung.

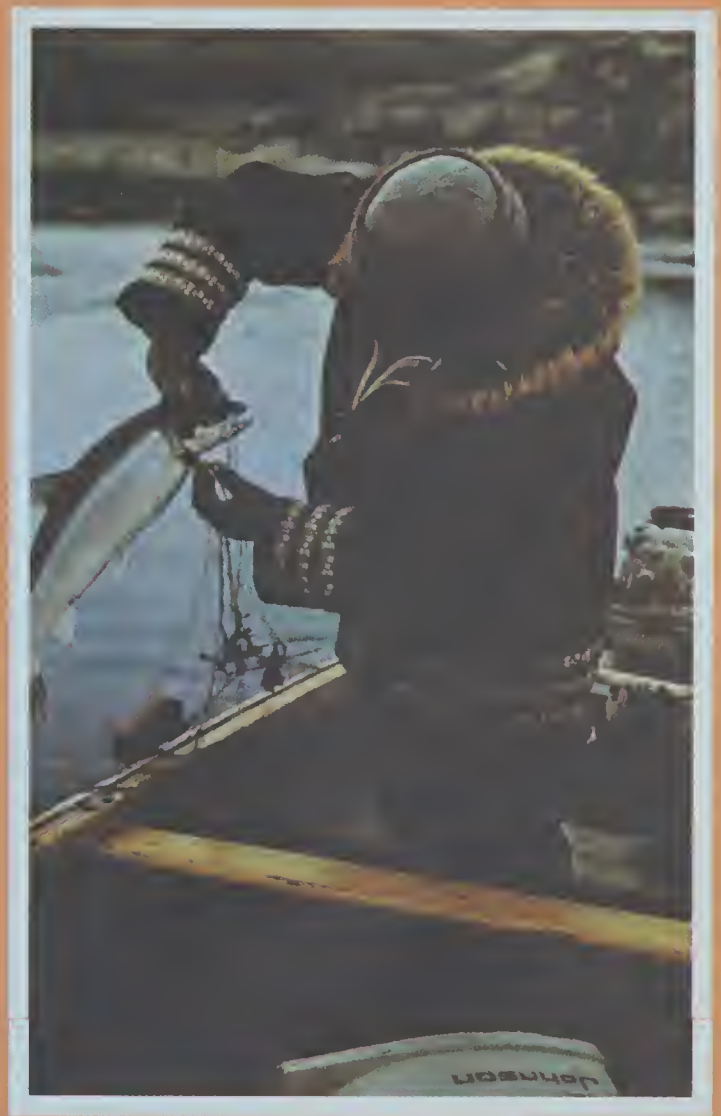
2. A walrus. Its tough hide is used for making harpoon lines.

3. What are these tents made of? How have they been made? Compare them with the traditional tent.

4. An Eskimo removes an Arctic char from the meshes of a gill net. Fish may be speared with a kakivak (see photo on page 1) or netted. What are the advantages and disadvantages of each method? Although the region has an abundance of char, a fish highly regarded in southern restaurants, no real attempts have been made to harvest it. Suggest reasons why fishing for char has not become a source of income.

5. The caribou is hunted mainly during the summer. It provides meat for food and hides for summer clothing. The short-haired summer pelts are desirable because they do not shed as readily as the long-haired winter pelts. The population of the caribou has diminished from several million to a few hundred thousand in the last two hundred years. Suggest one reason for the decrease in numbers.

6. Where would the hunter have obtained his rifle? If the hunter wanted to refrigerate his meat, how could he do it?



4



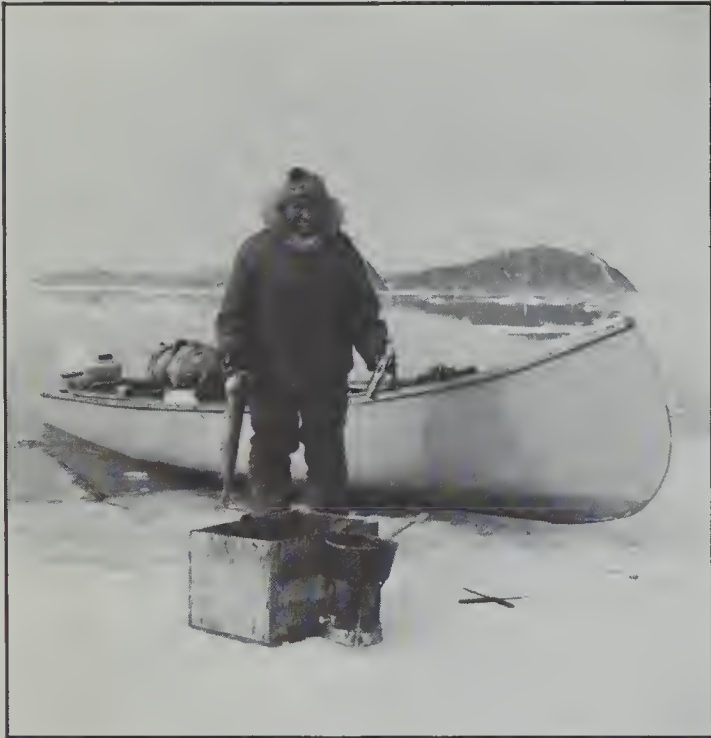
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6



# Sealing



*How does the craft shown here combine old and new methods of transportation?*



*A hunter prepares to skin a ringed seal. Ninety out of a hundred seals caught in the Pangnirtung area are ringed seals, which are the most valuable for trading.*



*The skin of the larger bearded seal shown here is used to make boots, dog harnesses, and harpoon thongs.*



*Do you think these men will sell the skin to the Hudson's Bay Company or use it for their own purposes? Why?*



The families living in Arctic settlements can no longer live by hunting and fishing for their own needs. Now they must have dollars to pay the rent for their houses, to buy manufactured food and clothing, guns and ammunition, gasoline for snowmobiles and boats.

Seal skins are the major source of income for the residents of Pangnirtung. The seal is abundant in the waters of Cumberland Sound and has provided meat and skins for food and clothing for many past generations. Today the bulk of the furs are sold to the Hudson's Bay Company.

Sealing is primarily a family project. Seals are hunted all year long, but most are caught in summer after the break-up of the ice.

During the winter the seals live under the ice cover on the sea. A series of breathing holes gives the mammals access to the air. The hunter waits for the moment when a seal emerges and then kills it with a harpoon.

In the summer hunters use twenty- to twenty-four-foot long canoes propelled by gasoline-driven outboard motors. When a seal is sighted, the hunter shoots at it to prevent it from getting oxygen into its lungs so that it will surface more quickly. The hunter closes in and uses a heavier rifle to kill the seal as it emerges again. He then uses his harpoon or gaff hook to lift the carcass from the water.

Some of the skins will be used for clothing and for making dog harnesses and harpoon thongs. Some Eskimos still make their *kamiks*, or boots, from seal skins, but most sell their pelts to the Hudson's Bay Company and purchase rubber boots.

The bulk of the catch will be sold for dollars. Prices for skins vary depending upon



*What must be done to a skin before it can be used to make clothing or other articles? What is this woman doing?*

the size and condition of the skin, the species, and the prevailing fur market. The average price paid for a seal is between eight and twenty dollars. In a recent year, a record 9,000 seals were harvested in the Pangnirtung area at a total value of over \$65,000.

## DO

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What factors outside the control of the Eskimos determine whether sealing will continue to be a source of income?

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*The longliner is built to withstand heavy seas and is similar in design to fishing boats used off the coast of Newfoundland.*

## *The Longliner*

Sealing is the major industry in Pangnirtung, but it cannot provide enough money to meet the increasing needs of the resident Eskimos.

A government Development Officer is located in the settlement to help the Eskimos become more self-sufficient.

One of the steps taken by the government to help the Eskimos is the provision of two

longliners. These are owned by the government but operated by the Eskimos. Each boat is powered by diesel engine and is completely fitted with a stove, bunks, and a washroom so that it can be used for deep-sea cod fishing and for whaling, both of which must be done further out to sea.

The longliners are expensive to operate and the Development Officer decides with the Eskimos which projects will be most profitable for the community.



# Whaling

The deep inlets along the coastline of Cumberland Sound provide a haven for the small white beluga whale. From 1925 to 1962 the Hudson's Bay Company operated a whaling station and an oil rendering plant at Pangnirtung. But today the business is no longer profitable, and whales are hunted mainly for their rich meat.

The whales appear for a few weeks beginning in July. The hunters set out in the longliners, towing canoes behind them. When a herd or pod of whales is sighted on the surface, some of the men lower themselves into the canoes and then circle the whales to drive them toward the ship where the hunters who have remained aboard stand ready with their rifles. The marksmanship must be excellent, for the beluga will dive and alter its course during the chase, and the rifleman must shoot at a vital spot in the few moments when the whale surfaces.

Once a beluga is hit, the men in the canoes and those on board work quickly to bring the carcass aboard by looping a rope around the flukes or tail fins and pulling on a block-and-tackle rigging.

After the whale is brought to shore, it often becomes community property. Long strips of skins with about one inch of blubber attached are cut from the whale and hung on a rack to cure. These strips are used to make *muktuk*, a delicacy for the Eskimos.

Attempts have been made in recent years to use the whale to make animal feed, fertilizer, and special lubrication oils. Most of the operations, however, have not been successful, and it is unlikely that the residents of Pangnirtung will be able to make whaling a commercial enterprise.



*Hunters wait for the whales to appear. How has the use of rifles affected the sealing and whaling operations?*



*A beluga is hoisted aboard. Estimate its length.*

## DO

1. What was whale oil used for in the past? Why is the production of oil no longer a profitable business?
2. Prepare a report on one of these topics: the whaling industry; the blue whale; the sperm whale; the protection of whales.





## *Hunting in Winter*

Almost all of the hunting activities now take place during the summer months. A few hunters will travel to outlying camps where they will spend the entire winter, returning only periodically to replenish their supplies. Others using snowmobiles that enable them to cover distances in a third of the time it took by dog team will return to the settlement each night.

### DO

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Compare the use of the snowmobile with the use of a dog team. What are some of the advantages and disadvantages of each method of traveling?

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# Crafts

It is in winter that many Eskimos of Pangnirtung make a living from their crafts.

In 1949 James Houston, an artist and writer, who was then a Development Officer on Baffin Island, taught the Eskimos how to create figures from soapstone and whalebone and how to make prints. Since then these crafts have become important industries in the north, and carvings and prints are sold in stores and galleries across Canada.

With the help of the government, a handicraft co-operative has been set up in Pangnirtung. This is an Eskimo-owned business where the craftsmen sell their works. The co-operative in turn sells these products in the south at an agreed mark-up in price. Some of the money earned is put into the co-operative to pay operating expenses. The profits are shared equally by the members.

Government officials also work with private industries to set up small businesses. A weaving shop is now in operation in Pangnirtung. The shop gives full-time employment to several Eskimo girls who create their own designs in the materials they weave and make into ties and scarves.



*A carver creates a soapstone figure. Soapstone is becoming scarce in the area. What other materials could the carvers use?*

## DO

1. How is the co-operative different from the Hudson's Bay Company?
2. The Eskimos continue to sell their seal skins to the Hudson's Bay Company store. Suggest reasons why they do not attempt to sell them through their co-operative.
3. What small manufacturing busi-

nesses might be established in Pangnirtung? Think of products that could be exported to the south and of products that might be bought by the residents.

4. Consider the service industries in your own community. Which ones might be established in Pangnirtung?





*A resident who has a steady job as a lineman.*

## Jobs

A few men have full or part-time employment with different government agencies. Because Pangnirtung is a growing community, tradesmen and casual laborers are needed on various construction projects.

Linemen help construct and maintain power installations and string new power lines. Operators are needed to drive bulldozers and earth-moving equipment. Welders and mechanics must be able to keep the equipment in good repair.

Some older men are employed as drivers for the garbage disposal and water delivery services.

These men earn enough to pay for their rent and for their purchases at the Hudson's Bay Company store. But there are not nearly enough of these jobs for all the men of Pangnirtung.

## DO

1. A major problem in Pangnirtung is the lack of wage employment. Do you think the situation will improve? Why or why not?
2. Do you think Eskimos should be encouraged to move to the south? Why or why not?

## Schooling

During the 1950's the Department of Northern Affairs became responsible for the provision and operation of schools in the north. The few schools that had existed up to this time had been established by the churches. Now as more and more families moved into settled communities, some schooling for almost all Eskimo children became a possibility.

The modern school in Pangnirtung has classrooms, a library, and special training rooms. Children going to school for the first time are welcomed by Eskimo teaching assistants who speak their language. After a few weeks when they have become accustomed to the classroom, they begin their lessons in the English language. They continue in the school until they have finished Grade Six.

Students may then go to the high school in Frobisher Bay or to Churchill, Manitoba for training in special trades. The government provides transportation, room and board, clothing, and spending money for the students who leave their homes to continue their education. Similar grants are available to students who wish to attend a southern university.



## DO

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1. What kinds of things did Eskimo children of the past have to learn? Who taught them what they needed to know?
2. Should Eskimo children today be taught traditional hunting skills? Why or why not?
3. Do you think Eskimo children should be taught in their own language or in English?

4. Boys at school in Churchill are taught such courses as driver education for automobiles and snowmobiles. Boys and girls are taught courses in shopping and selling. What other kinds of vocational training might be useful to Eskimos planning to stay in the north? What kinds of training should be given to Eskimos planning to take jobs in the south?



*Inside the school at Pangnirtung. What are these boys learning?*

## DO

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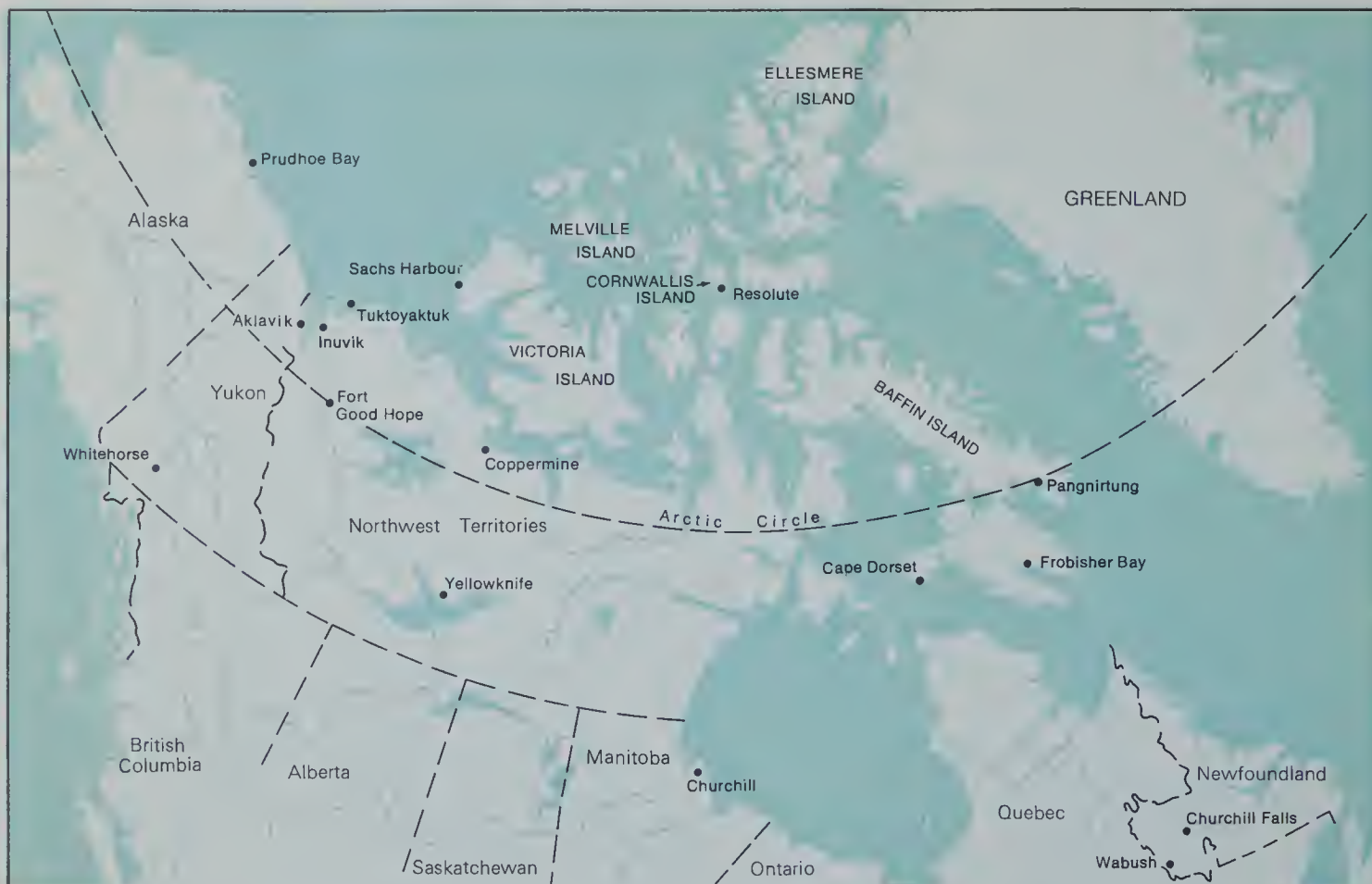
1. In what ways have the lives of the Eskimos who have moved to Pangnirtung improved? In what ways have their lives not improved?
2. What do you consider are the major problems of a community such as Pangnirtung? Suggest how one of these problems might be solved.
3. The government has assumed re-

sponsibility for providing the residents with housing, medical care, and education. Do you think the government's responsibilities will increase or decrease in the future? Why?

4. Deposits of iron ore have been located on Baffin Island. To what extent might the Eskimos benefit from the development of this industry?



# Other Arctic Centers



## DO

1. It has been said by government officials that a transportation system is the key to the north. Discuss this statement.
2. Compare the problems of Eskimos today with those of Canadian Indians. What problems do they have in common? What problems are different?
3. In what ways is the development of industry in the north more difficult because of the existence of permafrost?
4. Oil has been discovered in the

Mackenzie River Delta area and off some of the Arctic islands. Discuss how the development of this industry will affect Eskimos.

5. Oil can be brought to the south by pipeline and by tanker. Prepare a report on the advantages and disadvantages to the environment of each of these methods.
6. What future developments in technology might encourage more persons to live in the north?
7. Prepare a report on one of the Arctic centers shown in the map above.

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A filmstrip entitled *Pangnirtung* (106C 0159 057) is available from the National Film Board of Canada, P.O. Box 6100, Montreal.

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### Credits

Photographs were obtained from the following sources: K. F. Dudley; A. McElroy; Hudson's Bay Company; National Film Board.

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Nomads of the Shield: Ojibwa Indians  
The Fur Fort  
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